

Message Text

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ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-08 ISO-00 SSO-00 AID-01 NSC-06 SS-07

NSCE-00 /026 W

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O 081108Z SEP 75

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4476

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CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONS PLEASE PASS TO HOWARD PASTER IN
SENATOR BIRCH BAYH'S OFFICE

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: CODEL IPU

SUBJECT: TEXT OF SENATOR BIRCH BAYH'S SPEECH TO BE DE-
LIVERED TODAY AT THE 62ND INTER-PARLIAMENTARY
CONFERENCE -- LONDON

1. FOR YOUR INFORMATION, THE FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF MY
REMARKS TO BE DELIVERED TODAY. PROCEED AS YOU SEE FIT.
MANY THANKS.

2. BEGIN TEXT: IT IS A PRIVILEGE FOR ME TO HAVE THIS
OPPORTUNITY OF DISCUSSING THE MOST IMPORTANT LONG-RANGE
ISSUE FACING THE WORLD TODAY. I REFER TO THE CRITICAL
NEED TO INTENSIFY OUR EFFORTS TO SOLVE THE TERRIFYING
BUT REAL PROBLEM OF MANKINDS' CAPACITY TO CONDUCT WARFARE
TO DIRECT DEVISTATION AND DESTRUCTION AT AN ADVERSARY,
INDEED, TO DESTROY CIVILIZATION ITSELF.

3. SIGNIFICANT EFFORTS HAVE BEEN DEVOTED TO THE CAUSE OF
ARMS CONTROL BY MANY OF THE NATIONS REPRESENTED AT THIS
CONFERENCE. SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS HAS RESULTED. THE
LIMITED NUCLEAR TEST BAN TREATY, THE THRESHOLD TEST BAN
TREATY, THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY, THE STRATEGIC ARMS
LIMITATION AGREEMENT, THE BACTERIOLOGICAL WARFARE CONVEN-
TION AND THE VLADIVOSTOCK AGREEMENT ALL CONSTITUTE POSI-
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TIVE STEPS DOWN THE LONG ROAD TOWARD SUCCESSFUL ARMS CON-

TROL AND LASTING PEACE.

4. BUT OUR ACCOMPLISHMENTS, AS IMPORTANT AS THEY ARE, ARE MINIMAL IN RELATION TO THE SIZE OF THE PROBLEM. THEY TOUCH ONLY THE TIP OF THE ICEBERG, AND IN THIS RESPECT PRESENT A DANGER -- A DANGER THAT WE WILL BECOME COMPLACENT AND FAIL TO RECOGNIZE THE TRUE DIMENSIONS OF THE LIFE AND DEATH PROBLEM WHICH LAYS BEFORE US.

5. DESPITE EFFORTS AT ARMS CONTROL, DURING THE PAST THREE DECADES, THE POWER OF THE LARGEST NUCLEAR BOMB HAS INCREASED 4,500 TIMES. THE ARSENALS OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION NOW POSSESS THE EQUIVALENT OF MORE THAN A MILLION HIROSHIMA BOMBS -- MORE THAN 7,000 TIMES THE EXPLOSIVE POWER USED BY ALL SIDES IN WORLD WAR TWO. OTHER NATIONS POSSESS ADDITIONAL FORCES OF DESTRUCTION.

6. IN 1973, THE WORLD SPENT MORE THAN \$240 BILLION ON DEFENSE. AT THE SAME TIME IT FAILED TO MEET THE NEEDS OF A GROWING POPULATION.

7. IN 1972 OVER THIRTY COUNTRIES WERE RECORDED AS DONORS OF ECONOMIC AID. THE VALUE OF THEIR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE WAS LESS THAN SIX PERCENT OF THEIR MILITARY BUDGETS. THE TOTAL GLOBAL EXPENDITURE FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE-KEEPING WAS ONLY .03 PERCENT OF EXPENDITURES FOR NATIONAL MILITARY ESTABLISHMENTS. IT IS TOTALLY UNREASONABLE TO EXPECT THE CHANCES FOR WORLD PEACE TO INCREASE SO LONG AS THE WORLD'S WAR-MAKING POTENTIAL CONTINUES TO INCREASE.

8. EQUALLY DISCOURAGING IS THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS TECHNOLOGY. THERE ARE NOW FIVE DECLARED NUCLEAR POWERS AND A SIXTH HAS SET OFF A NUCLEAR EXPLOSION. TWO POWERS POSSESSING NUCLEAR ARMS CAPABILITY ARE ABSENT FROM THE FORUMS SEEKING A MEANS OF CONTROLLING THE USE OF SUCH WEAPONS. TODAY MORE THAN TWENTY NATIONS POSSESS FISSION-ABLE MATERIAL THAT TECHNICALLY CAN BE CONVERTED TO WEAPONS OF DESTRUCTION AND THIS NUMBER WILL INEVITABLY GROW.

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9. NEED I SAY MORE? WE MUST NOT BE COMPLACENT. WE MUST REDOUBLE OUR EFFORTS TO ACCOMPLISH RESPONSIBLE ARMS CONTROL. EACH NATION MUST PARTICIPATE IN THIS EFFORT -- NOT JUST THE SUPER POWERS -- BUT EACH NATION THAT DREAMS OF A FUTURE FOR ITS PEOPLE. ONLY ONE NATION CAN INITIATE A NUCLEAR WAR. ONLY A FEW NATIONS MIGHT ACTUALLY PARTICIPATE IN SUCH A HOLOCAUST. BUT NO HUMAN BEING ON THE FACE OF THE EARTH CAN AVOID ITS CONSEQUENCES.

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10. STEPS TOWARD ARMS CONTROL, NO MATTER HOW SENSIBLE, CANNOT BE IMPOSED UPON THE WORLD. THEY WILL BE OF VALUE ONLY IF THERE IS A COMMON VIEW THAT THE DANGERS OF INCREASED ARMAMENTS OUTWEIGH THEIR VALUE TO EACH INDIVIDUAL NATION.

11. WITH THIS IN MIND, I SUGGEST THE FOLLOWING FOR YOUR CONSIDERATION.

12. FIRST, WE SHOULD CONCLUDE A TOTAL NUCLEAR TEST BAN TREATY. PRESENT AGREEMENTS ARE INADEQUATE AND THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION MUST RESOLVE THEIR DISAGREEMENTS OVER DETECTION AND FINALIZE A COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN AGREEMENT. HOPEFULLY, ALL NATIONS WILL SUPPORT AND ACCEDE TO SUCH A PACT.

13. SECOND, A NEW, AND SIGNIFICANTLY LOWER LEVEL STRATEGIC ARMS LIMIT MUST BE ESTABLISHED. THE VLADIVOSTOCK LEVELS AS A CEILING IS BETTER THAN NO CEILING AT ALL AND IS AN IMPORTANT STEP. HOWEVER, I AM CONCERNED THAT THE VLADIVOSTOCK CEILING IS RAPIDLY BECOMING A FLOOR WITH EACH OF THE NUCLEAR SUPER POWERS PREPARED TO BUILD THE MAXIMUM ALLOWABLE NUMBER OF WEAPONS.

14. THIRD, WE MUST SEEK AGREEMENT AMONG THE NATIONS
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POSSESSING NUCLEAR WEAPONS NEVER TO EMPLOY THESE WEAPONS
IN AN INITIAL HOSTILE ACT AGAINST THOSE COUNTRIES WHICH
DO NOT HAVE THEM. THOSE NATIONS WHICH CHOOSE TO ABSTAIN
FROM NUCLEAR DETERRENCE MUST BE MADE SECURE IN THEIR DE-
CISION.

15. FOURTH, WE MUST COME TO TERMS WITH THE PROBLEMS OF
HORIZONTAL NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION. SAFEGUARD MECHANISMS
ADMINISTERED BY THE INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY
MUST BE STRENGTHENED. THERE MUST BE INCREASED PROTECTION
OF NUCLEAR MATERIALS TO REDUCE RISKS OF THEFT. MUCH
STRONGER CONTROLS MUST BE PROVIDED ON REPROCESSING NUCLEA
MATERIALS AND USING THEM FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES. WE MUST
ENCOURAGE TOTAL PARTICIPATION IN A STRENGTHENED NON-PRO-
LIFERATION TREATY.

16. FIFTH, WE MUST ELIMINATE THE DELUSION THAT THE ONLY
DANGER FACING US IS THE OBVIOUS ONE OF NUCLEAR DESTRUC-
TION. AN EQUAL, BUT MUCH LESS OBVIOUS DANGER, IS THE
DRAMATIC ESCALATION WHICH HAS OCCURRED IN NON-NUCLEAR
ARMS AND THE TENSIONS RESULTING FROM MINI-CONVENTIONAL
ARMS RACES IN MANY PARTS OF THE WORLD. THE WORLD-WIDE
TRADE IN NON-NUCLEAR ARMS HAS GROWN FROM A WORLD EXPENDI-
TURE OF ABOUT 300 MILLION DOLLARS IN 1952 TO A TOTAL OF
NEARLY 18 BILLION DOLLARS THIS YEAR -- A SIX THOUSAND
PERCENT INCREASE.

17. IN THE DEVELOPING NATIONS, WHERE POVERTY, HUNGER AND
DISEASE ARE UNFORTUNATELY OFTEN CLOSELY RELATED, THE
TOTAL ANNUAL PUBLIC OUTLAY FOR HUMAN SERVICES IS OFTEN
WOEFULLY INADEQUATE, YET, MILITARY EXPENDITURES CONTINUE
TO INCREASE IN ALL TOO MANY OF THE NATIONS INVOLVED.

18. WE MUST BEGIN TO TAKE THESE SECONDARY ARMS RACES
SERIOUSLY, AND WE MUST IMMEDIATELY BEGIN THE EXPLORATION
OF MEANS TO IMPOSE INTERNATIONAL CONTROLS UPON THE CON-
VENTIONAL ARMS TRADE.

19. THE INCREASE OF CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS IN THE DEVELOP-
ED NATIONS IS EQUALLY DISCONCERTING. TODAY THE UNITED
STATES IS INITIATING A COSTLY NAVAL BUILDING PROGRAM AS
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A DIRECT RESULT OF THE INCREASES IN SOVIET NAVAL STRENGTH NATO POWERS ARE REVIEWING THEIR FORCE LEVELS AS THEY RELATE TO WARSAW PACT FORCE LEVELS. I REFER TO THESE TWO SPECIFIC AREAS, NOT TO BE ARGUMENTATIVE BUT TO EMPHASIZE THE FOLLY OF CONTINUED ARMS ESCALATION WHICH LEAVES NO NATION SAFER AND THE WORLD MUCH LESS SAFE. BY LIMITING ARMS, WE NOT ONLY REDUCE THE LEVELS OF VIOLENCE AND DESTRUCTIVE FORCE, BUT ALSO WE FREE TREMENDOUS RESOURCES TO SOLVE PROBLEMS AND RESOLVE CONFLICTS WITH NO FORCE WHATSOEVER.

20. IF WE ARE TO PREVENT WAR AND DESTRUCTION AND HAVE THE RESOURCES NECESSARY TO ELIMINATE HUMAN MISERY, ALL NATIONS, DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING, NUCLEAR AND NON-NUCLEAR MUST BE WILLING TO MAKE THE MAXIMUM EFFORT NECESSARY TO ACHIEVE THIS GOAL.

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21. SIXTH, AND FINALLY, EACH OF US HERE MUST WORK WITHIN OUR OWN GOVERNMENTS TO ENCOURAGE ACTIVE DEBATE ON DISARMAMENT. TOO OFTEN THE NATIONAL BUREAUCRACIES WHICH SET DISARMAMENT POLICIES ARE THE VERY AGENCIES WHICH MAKE UP THE DEFENSE ESTABLISHMENT. LET US HEAR OPINIONS FROM OTHERS AS TO WHAT THE FAILURE TO DISARM WILL COST OUR

COUNTRIES IN SOCIAL TERMS AS WELL AS WHAT DISARMAMENT
WILL COST THEM IN TERMS OF MILITARY SECURITY.

22. LET ME CLOSE ON A REALISTIC NOTE. AS A MEMBER OF
THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS IT IS MY RESPONSIBILITY TO
SUPPORT THOSE MEASURES NECESSARY TO KEEP OUR COUNTRY
STRONG AND TO PROTECT THE FREEDOM OF OUR PEOPLE. YOU
SHARE A SIMILAR RESPONSIBILITY.

23. HOWEVER, THOSE WHO CHERISH A FREE SOCIETY AND A
WORLD AT PEACE KNOW THAT MILITARY STRENGTH ALONE DOES NOT
DETERMINE THE TRUE STRENGTH OF A FREE PEOPLE. TRUE,
LASTING AND MEANINGFUL NATIONAL STRENGTH DEPENDS MORE ON
SOUND MINDS THAN STRATEGIC MISSILES, MORE ON HEALTHY
BODIES THAN HEAVY BOMBERS, MORE ON SCHOOLS, HOSPITALS,
HOMES, FOOD AND JOBS THAN TANKS AND RAPID FIRE WEAPONS.

24. LET EACH OF US PLEDGE OUR EFFORTS TO SEE THAT THOSE
WEAPONS DESIGNED TO PROTECT OUR PEOPLE DO NOT BECOME IN-
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STRUMENTS DESTINED TO DESTROY CIVILIZATION. LET US TURN
DESTRUCTIVE FORCES INTO CONSTRUCTIVE FORCES FOR THE
BETTERMENT OF ALL MANKIND.

25. AS HUMAN INGENUITY DEVELOPS THE TECHNOLOGY OF SMART
WEAPONS, LET US PRAY THAT WE IN THE HUMAN RACE SHALL BE
SMART ENOUGH NOT TO USE THEM. LET US PRAY FOR THE WISDOM
TO TRULY TURN OUR SWORDS INTO PLOWSHEARS. LET US PRAY
THAT OUR CHILDREN'S CHILDREN SHALL KNOW NOT THE RHETORIC
OF BALANCE OF POWER, BUT THE REALITY OF A WORLD OF PEACE
AND PLENTY. WHAT BETTER LEGACY CAN THIS UNION BEQUEATH
TO FUTURE GENERATIONS? END TEXT.

RICHARDSON

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